tools, kerosene, matches, rice, salt, shoes, and sugar. 432
It must finally be stressed that the economy is one of money, however minute the sums involved may be. Agricultural and dairy products are sold for cash, and items such as have been listed above are purchased on the same terms. Barter, while it may still occur in some situations, is not the typical mode of exchange, and the system of values is always expressed in terms of money. [437]

The town of Rowanduz, occupying the sloping top of a great bluff, has roughly three divisions. The lowest is that first encountered when arriving from the valley below and contains a number of government buildings, a scattering of residences, and a large amount of vacant land, unoccupied because of its higher prices. At a steeper point of the slope the houses increase in number and the center of the town is reached, the mercantile area of closely adjoining shops and dwellings. This section merges with the heavily settled upper part of the town, almost wholly residential in character, whose houses gradually thin out around the hills behind the town. The mercantile area or bazar begins with a steeply sloping street lined on both sides with shops which terminates in a wide area, a "square" flanked by the great mosque (Jami'a al-kabir), the garage, and two chaikhanas. From this square another street of shops leads upward, finally reaching a little clearing surrounded by shops from which three lanes branch out into the houses of the upper town. [364]

Some of the more specialized shops of the bazar will 347

o'clock and finally locks up for the day at six or seven. 443 464
Friday, the weekly holiday, does not preclude commerce, and many establishments are operated on a seven-day basis. Business, some merchants hold, is actually better on Friday than during the rest of the week. During the fast of Ramadan many shops are shuttered during the day, but are open much later in the evening. By a mutual agreement of all the chaykhana-owners, the tea-shops and places of eating are closed for the day during Ramadan save one. Business, often brisk, is this "dinner's" chaykhana is kept within doors and the entrance carefully masked with a heavy burlap hanging. On extremely cold days in winter many merchants close their unheated shops and seek the warmth of a chaykhana. A would-be customer must page the merchant he seeks, and the latter returns with him to open up the shop just long enough to conclude the sale.

It has already been noticed that all transactions 437
are in terms of money. It is more or less standard that many European and American travelers in the Middle East are led to believe that any sale must be accompanied by interminable haggling and bargaining. This may be perfectly true of larger towns, particularly purchases in which a foreigner is involved, but in a rural setting such as that of Rawanduz the case is quite otherwise. In the everyday business of the bazar it would be difficult to observe an example of protracted bargaining, for the range of price for any given article is as well known by the purchaser as it is by the merchant. A woman seeking to buy

an item will canvass a number of shops, inquiring into its price, until she finds what she believes to be the lowest, nothing more than the "comparison shopping" of the European or American housewife, and without bargaining. This does not mean that foreigners will not be overcharged. In the summer of 1951 the price of a khanjir or dagger was fixed at the unbelievable sum of three dinars (a much more elaborate example of the same weapon costs about one sixth of this price in Baghdad or Damascus) due to the indiscreet outlay of an American visitor, and neither bargaining nor rumor could bring it down again. It was immutably established that Americans pay three dinars for their khanjirs, and one was constantly hailed by persons offering the sorriest specimens in the hopes of [illegible] that price. Prices are, within certain limits, geared to the social status of the purchaser, and the gelmerdan, for example, might be expected to pay more for a given commodity than another. In a small town of this sort, however, while prices are uncontrolled, public opinion and the facility with which one merchant will undersell another, set up strong limitations, and the difference between "asking price" and "selling price" is apt to be insignificant.

There is extensive daily cooperation among merchants. If a customer, for example, wished to buy six tea-glasses from a certain shopkeeper and only four were on hand, the latter would send his boy down the street to borrow what was required from another merchant. The same is true of money, and cashing a large banknote may involve any number

cloed and moulded about a metal skewer (jujeh) or alter- 252
nated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same 246
implement (sikh). A charcoal fire is prepared in a [354]
rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing
coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over
this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze,
until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely 245
sold by order to private houses, but some may be used in 437
the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a
shopfront. As with the butcher, one must place a request
on the day preceding, for after noontime the kebabchi has
often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this [578]
occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same
meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a
hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the 256
townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, [262]
both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the
men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of
women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home
which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique [443]
involves equipping the children of the house, either of [857]
baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them
from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in
the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill- [415]
owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with
the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge,
flat bottomed tub.

bazar of whom there are a relatively large number in the bazar. Cloth is daily in great demand among both towns-people and villagers, for very little manufactured clothing is available or popular. The local weaving of coarse woolen cloth has already been noticed, but the product is used in the fabrication of men's jackets and trousers, and neither its amount nor its quality would satisfy the demands and taste of the district. The cloth-seller's shop is characteristically a small booth with numerous rolls of brightly coloured cotton and darker shaded woolen fabrics piled against its walls. Much of this cloth is European in origin, largely from the mills of Great Britain, India and Japan, and is brought from Erbil. The purchase can either be taken home, as is the case for most cloth destined for women's garments, or carried to the tailor.

The tailors occupy small shops and their equipment consists in a pedal-driven sewing machine, a flat-iron, a tape measure, a pair of scissors, and little else. Almost all European-style clothing, such as that worn by government employees, is purchased in one of the larger cities, Erbil, Mosul, or Baghdad. The tailor's work is almost exclusively in men's garments in the Kurdish style, jackets, trousers, and shirts, and a few other items in linen or cotton, such as pajamas. The customer, having purchased the material of his choice from the bazar, repairs to a tailor with whom a contract is arranged, as well as the amount of time necessary for completion. This

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never realised and represents a point from which the skirmish of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing of small children and women is made within the home, either by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of man's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into men's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the end of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is relatively inexpensive (a man's woolen jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three dinars, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at least the children of every house appear at the feast which ends Ramadan, Jejnni Ramazan, in clean, new garments, and

294 437 ●
[443] [292]
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[435]
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5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kelek* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 (£210 millions in 1955) and from which the northern *liwas*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 40,000 Kw. (and an ul-

by detribalised Kurds from the Sulaimani area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds of the Erbil liva. Notoriously the cheapest labour is that which is least organised. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to affect the basic economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

In general the motives for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different communers, and trading contacts within the group are scarcely necessary.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then worked up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.*

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Balash and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the goatherd was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families whose flocks he tended contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each man knows his own stock; this fact being amply demonstrated at milking time every morning and evening when the womenfolk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Shwedini of Bayat have large herds, and as stated already part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent hoba, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

* This idealises the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have no weaver of their own. The men still nearly all wear Kurdish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowanduz and Erbil.